



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

The  
American Historical Review

FERRAND MARTINEZ AND THE MASSACRES  
OF 1391

THE terrible massacres of the Jews, in 1391, form a turning-point in Spanish history. They mark the end of the ages of toleration, during which the Peninsula afforded a refuge to the unfortunate children of Israel, and the commencement of the fierce spirit of persecution which rendered the Inquisition inevitable, which expelled the Jews and Moors, and which, by insisting on absolute uniformity of belief, condemned Spain to the material and intellectual lethargy that marked its period of decadence. The popular temper which rendered the massacres possible had been in course of development for a generation, but the outbreak was the work of one man, Ferrand Martinez, Archdeacon of Ecija, who presents himself to us as the ideal example of the mediæval zealot. The document, hitherto inedited, appended to this paper throws some light on the movements preliminary to the massacres and on the unbending resolution of the man to accomplish what he regarded as his duty to God.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the canon law which condemns the Jews to perpetual servitude in punishment for the Crucifixion, and in spite of the repeated urgency of the Holy See, Spain, up to the fourteenth century, had consistently treated them with a reasonable degree of equity. They were not popular favorites, however, for their keen intelligence and business capacity had enabled them to control the finances of the land, both public and private, and the occupations of farmers of the revenue, tax-collectors, and money-lenders, which

<sup>1</sup> Amador de los Rios, in his monumental *Historia de los Judios de España*, has printed several papers relating to these events, but the present one apparently escaped his researches, as it shows that some of the minor details in his narrative are incorrect.

were almost exclusively in their hands, were not calculated to ingratiate them with the people, while the ostentation with which their wealth was displayed was provocative of ill-feeling. There was, therefore, a certain amount of latent popular prejudice, which was capable of being aroused to activity, and to this task the Church of Spain addressed itself. The general council of Vienne, in 1311-1312, although it did not add to the numerous oppressive canons directed against the Jews, took occasion to reprehend in the strongest manner the freedom of worship allowed in Spain to the Moors, and it sharpened the decrees against usury.<sup>1</sup> The Spanish prelates at the council, in their intercourse with their brethren from other lands, doubtless had full opportunity of learning what was thought of Spanish tolerance towards both Moors and Jews, and they seem to have returned home fully inspired with the proscriptive spirit, for the provincial councils subsequently held throughout Spain eagerly endeavored to separate the races and to destroy the kindly intercourse and neighborliness which had existed from time immemorial.<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly these efforts must have stimulated prejudice and sharpened antagonism, but they were barren of visible results, for the Jews were too useful to the ruling classes to lack protectors. Not only were they indispensable to the royal finances, but the heavy taxation levied upon them formed a notable and most reliable portion of the revenues of the crown and of the nobles, the churches and the municipalities.

Pedro the Cruel was a friend of the Jews, and it is a sign of their growing unpopularity that his rebellious bastard brother, Henry of Trastamara, found his account in persecuting them. When, in 1355, Henry and his brother, the Master of Santiago, entered Toledo to liberate Queen Blanche of Bourbon, confined in the alcazar, they sacked the smaller *Judería* and slew its twelve hundred inhabitants, without sparing age or sex; they also besieged the principal *Judería*, which was defended by Pedro's friends until his arrival with reinforcements compelled the assailants to withdraw. Five years later, when, in 1360, Henry invaded Castile with the aid of Pedro IV. of Aragon, on reaching Najara he ordered a massacre of the Jews, and, as Ayala states that this was done to win popularity, it may be assumed that he granted free license to plunder. When at length, in 1366, Henry led into

<sup>1</sup> Clementin. Lib. V. Tit. ii., v.

<sup>2</sup> Concil. Zamorens, ann. 1313 (*Amador*, II. 561-5); *C. Vallisoleti*, ann. 1322, cap. xxii. (*Aguirre*, *Con. Hispan.*, V. 250); *C. Leridens.*, ann. 1325 (*Villanueva*, *Viage Literario*, XVIII. 247); *C. Tarraconense*, ann. 1329 (*Aguirre*, VI. 370); *C. Salmanticens.*, ann. 1335, cap. xii. (*Aguirre*, V. 269); *C. Dertusan.*, ann. 1429, cap. xx. (*Aguirre*, V. 340).

Spain Bertrand du Guesclin and his hordes of Free Companions, the slaughter of the Jews was terrible. Multitudes fled, and the French chronicler deplores the number that found refuge in Paris and preyed upon the people with their usuries. The *Aljama*, or Jewish community, of Toledo purchased exemption with a ransom of a million maravedises, raised in fifteen days, to pay off the mercenaries; but as for a time the whole land lay at the mercy of the reckless freebooters, pillage and slaughter were general. Finally, the assassination of Pedro at Montiel, in 1349, deprived the Jews of their protector, and left Henry undisputed master of the land.<sup>1</sup> When the news of the fratricide reached Avignon, Urban V. asked the Bishop of Sarlat whether the Pope and the Church ought to rejoice over Pedro's death, slain by his bastard brother, seeing that he was a rebel towards the Church, a fautor of Jews and Moors, a propagator of infidelity, and a slayer of Christians. To this the bishop replied that he rejoiced at the expiation of crime, but pitied the man, when Urban sternly rejoined, "Have you not read in the Psalms, 'The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance'?"<sup>2</sup>

Thus the people were becoming educated to slaughter and pillage of the defenceless Jew, but he was too necessary to the state to be abandoned, and even Henry of Trastamara was forced to give him a measure of protection. Yet legislation was becoming unfriendly, and the ecclesiastics had freer scope to excite abhorrence and stimulate popular passion. The conditions existed for a catastrophe, and Ferrand Martinez was the man to precipitate it. He was not only Archdeacon of Ecija, but he occupied a distinguished position in the great archiepiscopal see of Seville, where he was canon of the cathedral, and Official, or judicial representative of the archbishop, Pedro Barroso. He was a man of indomitable firmness, and though without much learning, he was highly esteemed for his distinguished piety, his solid virtues, and his eminent charity, the latter of which qualities he evinced by founding and maintaining the Hospital of Santa María in Seville.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately he was a fanatic, and the Jews were the object of his remorseless zeal, which his position gave him ample opportunity of exercising to their injury. In his sermons he denounced them savagely, and excited against them the passions of the people, keeping them in constant fear of an outbreak; as ecclesiastical

<sup>1</sup> Ayala, *Crónica de Pedro I.*, año VI. cap. vii.; año IX. cap. vii., viii.; año XVII. cap. viii. — Guillel. Nangiac. Contin., ann. 1366.

<sup>2</sup> *Quarta Vita Urbani V.* (Muratori, *Scriptt. Rer. Ital.*, III. II. 641).

<sup>3</sup> Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, año 1395, n. 2; año 1404, n. 4.

judge, he extended his jurisdiction over them, against all law and precedent, and his decisions naturally followed the bent of his prejudices, to their great loss and disadvantage. Moreover, in conjunction with other episcopal officials, he issued letters to the local authorities of the towns of the diocese, ordering them to expel the Jews and to suffer none to reside within their limits, — letters which he endeavored to enforce by personal visitation. The *Aljama* of Seville, which was the largest and the richest in the kingdom, became seriously alarmed and made complaint to the king. Little as Henry of Trastamara was favorably disposed to the Jews, the threatened disturbances boded consequences too serious to his finances to be disregarded, and in August, 1378, he addressed a formal command to Ferrand Martinez to desist from his evil courses; nor was this the first time, as is shown by an allusion to previous letters of the same import. To this Martinez paid no obedience; he continued to persecute the Jews judicially, and to inflame the people against them in his sermons. The *Aljama* had recourse to the Holy See and procured certain bulls for their protection, which Martinez disregarded as contemptuously as he had done the royal mandate. Complaint was again made to the throne, and Juan I., who had succeeded his father, Henry II., in 1382, again commanded Martinez not to preach against them and to abandon his usurped jurisdiction over them. This did not silence him, for another royal letter of 1383 complains that he asserted in his sermons that he knew that the king would regard it as a service if any one should assault or damage or slay the Jews, and that all such might feel assured of impunity. As this portended the complete destruction of the *Judería* of Seville, the king threatened him with severe and exemplary punishment unless he should desist. Yet matters went on as before, and the next information we have is in 1388, when the frightened *Aljama* summoned Martinez before the *alcaldes* of the city, and had the three royal letters read publicly, requiring him to obey them. He replied with insults, and a week later put in a formal answer to the effect that he could not preach otherwise than he did, for he only repeated what Christ and the prophets had said of them; that when he endeavored to enforce the laws requiring complete separation between Christian and Jew, he was but obeying the commands of the archbishop, and that if he were to execute the law he would tear down all the twenty-three synagogues in Seville, seeing that they had all been illegally erected.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Amador de los Rios, II. 579–89. It is not much to the credit of Christians that Martinez was justified in his assertion as to the synagogues. As early as 423, Honorius

The dean and chapter became alarmed at the archdeacon's intemperate zeal, and appealed to the king to suppress it, but Juan, in place of enforcing his neglected commands, merely replied that he would look into the matter; the zeal, he said, of the archdeacon was holy, but it must not be allowed to cause disturbance; for, although the Jews were wicked, they were under the royal protection. This royal vacillation naturally encouraged Martinez, who became more inflammatory in his harangues than ever, and symptoms of popular excitement against the Jews became manifest.<sup>1</sup> No one dared to interfere in their defence; but at length Martinez furnished an excuse for silencing him by asserting, in a sermon, that the Pope had no power to license the erection of synagogues. This involved the papal authority and not the Jewish question; and the opportunity was seized of summoning him before an assembly of theologians and doctors. From a sentence pronounced August 2, 1389, by Archbishop Barroso, we learn that he refused to answer except before the people, and on his persisting in this, he was ordered not to preach about the power of the Pope, but he disobeyed, thus rendering himself contumacious and suspect of heresy. He even taught that the Pope could not grant dispensations to the clergy to marry, and that he could not absolve from sins, wherefore, on August 2, the archbishop suspended him, both as to jurisdiction and preaching, till his trial should be concluded.<sup>2</sup> This afforded the Jews a breathing-space, but Archbishop Barroso died, July 7, 1390. followed, October 9, by Juan I. The chapter must have secretly sympathized with Martinez, for it elected him one of the provisors of the diocese, *sede vacante*, thus clothing him with greater power than ever, and we hear nothing more of his trial for heresy, which evidently was discontinued with the archbishop's death.

Juan had left as his successor Henry III., known as *El Doliente*, or the Invalid, a child of eleven; and quarrels threatening civil war at once arose over the question of the regency. Martinez had now nothing to fear from any quarter, and he proceeded to put his convictions into practice by sending, December 8, to the clergy

and Theodosius II. enacted that no new synagogues should be erected, although existing ones were to be protected from the zeal of those who might endeavor to destroy them (*Cod. Theodos.* Lib. XVI. Tit. viii. l. 25), and this prohibition was sedulously maintained in the canon law (cap. iii., viii., Extra, Lib. V. Tit. vi.).

The twenty-three synagogues referred to were evidently those in the diocese of Seville. In the city itself, as we shall see, there were but three at the time of the outbreak.

<sup>1</sup> Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, año 1379, n. 3; año 1388, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Amador de los Rios, II. 592-4.

of the various towns, commands, under pain of excommunication, to tear down, within three hours, the synagogues in which the enemies of God, calling themselves Jews, performed their idolatry; the books, including the Law, were to be sent to him, and the building materials to be used for the repair of the churches; if resistance were offered, it was to be overcome by force, and an interdict was to be laid on the towns until the work was accomplished.<sup>1</sup> These orders were not universally obeyed, but enough ruin resulted to cause the frightened *Aljama* of Seville to make earnest representations to the regency, threatening to emigrate if they could not be protected from Martinez. The response to this we have in the subjoined *Acta Capitular*.

From this it appears that the regency acted with promptitude and decision. On December 22, a missive was addressed to the dean and chapter, which was formally read to them, assembled for the purpose, on January 10, 1391. It recited the acts of Martinez, for which it held them responsible, seeing that they had elected him provisor with full knowledge of his character, and had not prevented his unlawful proceedings, wherefore they were liable for the cost of rebuilding the ruined synagogues, and for all damages suffered by the Jews. It required them at once, under pain of making good all past and future damages, and of a fine of a thousand gold *doblas* each, with other arbitrary punishment at the royal pleasure, to remove Martinez from the provisorship and to force him by excommunication to rebuild the synagogues and to abstain from preaching and all other acts injurious to the Jews. Letters of similar import were at the same time addressed to Martinez himself. On January 15 the chapter again assembled, and made a formal reply. With the exception of one member, Juan Ferrandez, they protested their implicit submission to the royal commands; they deprived Martinez of the provisorship, and forbade him to exercise the office, or to preach anything injurious to the Jews, and ordered him, within a year, to rebuild and repair all the synagogues destroyed by his orders. This they presented as their official capitular action, which Martinez must obey under pain of excommunication.

Then Martinez arose and made his reply. The secular sword, he said, was in the hands of the king, to coerce his lay subjects and defend the faith. The spiritual sword was in the hands of the prelates, who were not subject to the royal jurisdiction; the royal letters invaded the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and were invalid. The dean and chapter could not proceed against him, or

<sup>1</sup> Amador de los Rios, II. 613.

deprive him of his office, or require him to rebuild the houses of the devil, which were synagogues of Satan, and in which, thrice daily, Christ and the king and all the Christian people were cursed ; for all the synagogues in the land had been built in violation of the law and the canons. As the sentence against him was null and void, being rendered by those who were not his judges, no appeal from it was necessary ; but as Christ and the holy Catholic faith were the parties concerned, he appealed to them to judge the matter, and to inflict due penance on those who contravened their commands, saving, always, the king, whose ignorance rendered him worthy of mercy. Moreover, he alleged, truly enough, that he had been accused and condemned without an opportunity of defence. He could prove that the synagogues had been destroyed by order of the late Archbishop Barroso, who had given them to his squires to do as they liked with them, seeing that they had been unlawfully built without licence ; and two of them he had torn down during the archbishop's life. He concluded by declaring that he did not repent of anything that he had done.

This dauntless defiance of the royal authority and of the capitular sentence shows not only the intractable fanaticism of the man but his confidence in the support of his fellows, and of the people whose passions he had been exciting for so many years. The sequel proves that his confidence was not misplaced. What answer the regency made to his denial of its jurisdiction over him we have no means of knowing, but whatever it was, it exercised no restraint upon him. His preaching continued as violent and incendiary as ever, and the Seville mob grew excited with the prospect of gratifying at once its zeal for the faith and its thirst for pillage. In March the aspect of affairs was more alarming than ever ; the rabble were feeling their way with outrages and insults, and the Judería was in hourly danger of being sacked. Juan Alonso Guzman, Count of Niebla, the most powerful noble of Andalusia, was adelantado of the province and alcalde mayor of Seville, and his kinsman, Alvar Perez de Guzman, was alguazil mayor. On March 15 they seized some of the most turbulent of the crowd and proceeded to scourge two of them, but in place of awing the populace this led only to open sedition. The Guzmans were glad to escape with their lives, and popular fury was directed against the Jews, resulting in considerable bloodshed and plunder, but at length the authorities prevailed, with the aid of the nobles, and order was apparently restored. By this time, however, the agitation was spreading to Córdoba, Toledo, Burgos, and other cities. Everywhere fanaticism and greed were aroused, and the



Council of Regency vainly sent pressing commands to all the large towns, in hopes of averting the catastrophe, yet a royal order of April 15, withdrawing the privilege that in Seville no building should be erected within cross-bow-shot of the *Judería*, could only be regarded as a concession to the passions of the mob. The archdeacon continued his inflammatory harangues and sought to turn to the advantage of religion the storm which he had aroused, by procuring a general forcible conversion of the Jews. The excitement grew till it became uncontrollable, and on June 9 the tempest burst in a general rising of the populace against the *Judería*. It was sacked and left a desert. Few of its inhabitants escaped; the number of the slain was reckoned at four thousand, and those of the survivors who did not succeed in flying, only preserved their lives by accepting baptism. Of the three synagogues, two were converted into churches for the Christians who settled in the Jewish quarter, and the third sufficed for the miserable remnant of Israel which slowly gathered together after the storm had passed.<sup>1</sup>

From Seville the flame leaped through Castile from shore to shore. In the paralysis of public authority, during the summer and early autumn of 1391, one city after another followed the example; the *Juderías* were sacked, the Jews who would not submit to baptism were slain, and fanaticism and cupidity held their orgies unchecked. The Moors escaped; for although many wished to include them in the slaughter, there was a wholesome restraining fear of reprisals upon the Christian captives in Granada and Africa. The total number of victims was estimated at fifty thousand, but this is probably an exaggeration. For this wholesale butchery and its accompanying rapine there was complete immunity. No attempt was made in Castile to punish the participators. It is true that when Henry attained his majority, in 1395, and came to Seville, he caused Ferrand Martinez to be arrested, but the penalty inflicted must have been trivial, for we are told that it did not affect the high estimation in which he was held, and on his death, in 1404, he bequeathed valuable possessions to his foundation of the Hospital of Santa María.<sup>2</sup>

In Aragon, although there was a king able and disposed to

<sup>1</sup> Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, año 1391, n. 1, 2, 3; Ayala, *Crónica de Enrique III.*, año I. Cap. v., xx.; Barrantes, *Ilustraciones de la Casa de Niebla*, Lib. V. Cap. xx.; *Archivo de Sevilla*, Sección primera, Carpeta II. n. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Ayala, *Crónica de Enrique III.*, año 1391, Cap. xx.; Mariana, *Hist. de España*, Lib. XVIII. Cap. xv.; Colmenares, *Hist. de Segovia*, Cap. xxvii. § 3; Fidel Fita, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, IX. 347; Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, año 1391, n. 2; año 1404, n. 4.

enforce the royal authority, and although the Castilian disturbances afforded ample warning, it was impossible to control the passions of the mob. From July 9, when the Jews in Valencia were massacred, until October, the subterranean flame burst forth successively in one city after another — Barcelona, Palma, Gerona, Lérida, Saragossa, witnessed the same exhibitions of savage fanaticism. Yet if Juan I. found himself unable to prevent the massacres, he was determined to punish them, and during the winter of 1391-1392 there were numerous executions of the most guilty participants.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the Church had at last succeeded in opening the long-desired and irreparable chasm between Christian and Jew. It had looked on, silent if not approving, while the Archdeacon of Ecija was bringing about the catastrophe, nor did pope or prelate utter a word of reproach to stay the long tragedy of murder and spoliation which they regarded as an act of God to bring the stubborn Hebrew into the fold of Christ. The old friendliness between the races was a thing of the past, and the final introduction of the Inquisition was rendered inevitable through the creation of a new class — that of the Conversos, Marranos, or New Christians — Jews who professed conversion to escape from slaughter. At this distance of time it is, of course, impossible to apportion the motives which led to the massacres between the attraction of disorder and pillage for the dangerous classes, the odium entertained by many for the Jews, and the fanaticism which served as an incentive and as a cloak for baser passions. That the religious element, however, predominated, would appear from the fact that everywhere the Jews were offered the alternative of death or baptism, and that wherever willingness was shown to embrace Christianity, the murderous work was at once suspended. The pressure was so fierce and overwhelming that whole communities were baptized. At Valencia, an official report of the municipal authorities, made on June 14, five days after the massacre, states that all the survivors, except a few who were in hiding, had already been baptized; they came forward demanding baptism in such droves that in all the

<sup>1</sup> Amador de los Ríos, II. 392-4.

In the case of Jayme dez Mas, accused of participation in the sack of the Judería of Barcelona, a royal letter was issued, February 27, 1392, at the request of Vicente de Rippis, prior of S. María de Monserrat, who testified that Jayme was a skilful mason, engaged on the refectory of the priory, and that the work could not be completed without him, as he alone knew the plan. His trial is therefore suspended for a year during which he is to work at the priory without wages, but the sequestration of his property is not to be removed, and it is to be subject to confiscation at the expiration of the term. *Coleccion de Documentos de la Corona de Aragon*, VI. 430.

churches the holy chrism was exhausted, and the priests knew not where to procure more, but each morning the *crismera* would be found miraculously filled, so that the supply held out; nor was this by any means the only miracle which showed that the whole tragedy was the mysterious work of Providence to effect so holy an end. The chiefs of the synagogues were included among the converts, and one can believe the statements current at the time, that in Valencia alone the conversions amounted to eleven thousand. Moreover, it was not only in the scenes of massacre that the good work went forward. So startling and relentless was the slaughter that panic replaced the unyielding fortitude which the Jews had so often displayed under trials equally severe. In many places they did not wait for a rising of the Christians, but at the first menace, or even in anticipation of trouble, they came eagerly forward and clamored to be received into the Church. In Aragon the total number of conversions was reckoned at a hundred thousand and in Castile at as many more; nor is this probably an exaggeration.<sup>1</sup> Nowhere do we hear of any attempt at armed resistance. The terror-stricken wretches either submitted to slaughter or saved their lives by flight or baptism.

In this tempest of conversion Ferrand Martinez yields the place to San Vicente Ferrer. The former sowed the seed, but the latter garnered the harvest, and in fact it was to the fervor of his preaching that subsequently was attributed the excitement leading to the massacres.<sup>2</sup> This doubtless does him injustice as far as

<sup>1</sup> Amador de los Rios, II. 400-2, 445, 599-604. — Zurita, *Añales de Aragon*, Lib. X. Cap. xlvii. — Llorente's estimate (*Histoire critique de l'Inquisition*, Ch. V. Art. 1, n. 6.) of a hundred thousand families, embracing about a million of souls, is of course untrustworthy.

<sup>2</sup> Bernaldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, Cap. xliii.

The Jews likewise attributed their sufferings to San Vicente. Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir, whose ancestors fled, during this persecution, from Cuenca and settled in Benevento, thus describes "Friar Vincent from the city of Valencia of the sect of Baal Dominic" (*Chronicles*, Bialloblitsky's Translation, I. 265-7): —

"He was unto them a Satan [adversary] and stirred up against them all the inhabitants of the country, and they arose to swallow them up alive, and slew many with the edge of the sword, and many they burned with fire, and many they turned away with the power of the sword from the Lord, the God of Israel. And they burned the books of the Law of our God, and trampled upon them as upon the mire in the streets; and the mother they dashed in pieces upon her children in the day of the Lord's wrath. . . . And some of them killed their sons and daughters that they might not be defiled. . . . Those who were compelled to be baptized became numerous in the land of Sphard [Spain] and they put upon them a mark of distinction unto this day. . . . And the Jews went out from that accursed country which the Lord had cursed. . . . Also upon the Jews that were in Savoy did this grievous oppressor turn his line of desolation. And I have seen in the book Mischath Marehu how they hid themselves in the castles of Savoy in those evil days. And this Belial was in their sight a saint; and the Pope Calixtus

regards their inception, but the fact that he chanced to be on hand in Valencia on that fatal July 9 may perhaps be an indication that he contributed to their continuance. His eloquence was unrivalled; immense crowds assembled to drink in his words; no matter what was the vernacular of the listener we are told that his Catalan speech was intelligible, as was experienced by Moor, Greek, German, Frenchman, Italian, and Hungarian, while the virtue which flowed from him on these occasions healed the infirm, and he repeatedly restored the dead to life.<sup>1</sup> Such was the man who, during the prolonged massacres, and subsequently, while the terror which they excited continued to oppress the unfortunate race, traversed Spain from end to end with restless and indefatigable zeal, preaching, baptizing, and numbering his converts by the thousand. On a single day in Toledo he is said to have converted no less than four thousand. It is to be hoped that in some cases, at least, he may have restrained the pious zeal of the murderous mob, if only by hiding its victims in the baptismal font. That his methods, however, did not commend themselves to those who desired peace would appear from the story that when he wished subsequently to carry on his work in Portugal and applied to João I. for permission to enter his dominions, the monarch replied that he could come, but only on condition of wearing upon his head a red-hot iron crown — an offer which he wisely declined.<sup>2</sup> Whatever may have been San Vicente's share in prolonging the massacres, there can be no doubt that their commencement is attributable to Ferrand Martinez, who therefore is entitled to be bracketed with Cardinal Ximenez as the two Spaniards who have contributed most largely to the downfall of their country's prosperity and power.

In the horror excited throughout the civilized world by the atrocities committed on the Armenians, it is perhaps wholesome for us to be reminded that Christian fanaticism has been capable of still greater enormities, and that even in the nineteenth century a cultured scholar like Villanueva has been found to characterize the massacres of 1391 as a *guerra sacra contra los Judios*.<sup>3</sup>

HENRY CHARLES LEA.

wrote his memory among the saints and appointed feast-days unto his name, on the fifth day of the month of April. May God recompense him according to his deeds!"

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. Petri de Arenii*, ann. 1408 (Denifle, *Archiv für Litt.- und Kirchengeschichte*, 1887, p. 647); *Coleccion de Documentos de la Corona de Aragon*, I. 118; *Chron. Magist. Ord. Prædic.*, Cap. xii. (Martene, *Ampliss. Collect.*, VII. 387); Salazar, *Anamnesis Sancti. Hispan.* II. 513; Tournon, *Hommes Illustres de l'Ordre de S. Dominique*, III. 37; Alban Butler, *Vie des Saints*, 5 Avril.

<sup>2</sup> Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, VIII. 125 (Leipzig, 1890).

<sup>3</sup> Villanueva, *Viage Literario*, XVIII. 20.